

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 147102  
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/IAI:GKULICK:NEA:ALATHERTON, JR./HLK  
APPROVED BY S/MS - M. SHULMAN  
EUR/SOV - MR. GLASSMAN  
S/S-0 -LRMACFARLANE

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O 232357Z JUN 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 147102

EXDIS FOR AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF, UR, US

SUBJECT:CONSULTATION WITH GROMYKO ON MIDDLE EAST

1. IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARRANGEMENT AGREED TO AT MAY 21 MEETING IN GENEVA, YOU SHOULD ARRANGE MEETING WITH GROMYKO FOR FIRST IN SERIES OF MONTHLY CONSULTATIONS ON MIDDLE EAST. UNTIL BEGIN HAS BEEN TO WASHINGTON AND WE HAVE HAD TIME FOR FACE-TO-FACE DISCUSSIONS, WE HAVE RELATIVELY LITTLE NEW TO SAY TO SOVIETS CONCERNING MIDDLE EAST. NEVERTHELESS, WE BELIEVE TIMELY INAUGURATION OF REGULAR CONSULTATIONS IS IMPORTANT. YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT WE VIEW CONSULTATIONS  
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ON MIDDLE EAST AND OTHER REGIONAL TROUBLE SPOTS AS AN ELEMENT OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE IN OUR RELATIONSHIP. MAIN PURPOSES OF YOUR MEETING WILL BE TO SHARE WITH SOVIETS A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON ISRAELI SCENE, TO REMIND SOVIETS THAT PLO POSITION ON ISRAEL AND RESOLUTION 242 REMAIN MAIN OBSTACLE TO GENEVA, TO NOTE THAT WE INTEND TO KEEP MOMENTUM RE PEACE PROCESS, AND TO SEEK REPORT FROM GROMYKO

ON FAHMY VISIT AND ON SOVIET-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS.

2. YOU SHOULD CONDUCT DISCUSSION WITH GROMYKO ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

(A) PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENT SINCE SECRETARY AND GROMYKO DIS-

CUSSED MIDDLE EAST IN GENEVA HAS BEEN ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW LIKUD-RELIGIOUS PARTIES COALITION GOVERNMENT IN ISRAEL UNDER PRIME MINISTER BEGIN. WHILE UNABLE REACH AGREEMENT ON BROADER COALITION WITH YADIN'S DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE BECAUSE OF DIFFERENCES OVER TERRITORIAL QUESTION, BEGIN HAS LEFT DOOR OPEN FOR TIME BEING FOR DMC TO JOIN. EVEN WITHOUT DMC, BEGIN'S GOVERNMENT APPEARS REASONABLY STABLE DESPITE SLIM MAJORITY BECAUSE OF HOMOGENEITY OF VIEWS OF ITS PARTNERS ON BASIC ISSUES.

(B) BEGIN'S BASIC VIEWS ON WEST BANK AND PALESTINIANS ARE WELL KNOWN. ON OTHER HAND, THERE ARE SIGNS OF SUFFICIENT FLEXIBILITY AND RESTRAINT ON BEGIN'S PART TO KEEP OPEN POSSIBILITY OF CONVENING GENEVA CONFERENCE, AND BEGIN HAS IN FACT STRESSED HIS INTEREST IN ENTERING NEGOTIATIONS. THE FORMULA CONCERNING TERRITORY IN FINAL VERSION OF NEW ISRAELI GOVERNMENT'S POLICY GUIDELINES ELIMINATES LANGUAGE THAT WOULD CLEARLY HAVE PRE-

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CLUDED CONCESSIONS ON WEST BANK. WHILE IT STRESSES ISRAEL'S HISTORIC CLAIM TO THE AREA, IT DOES NOT NOW PRECLUDE AB INITIO NEGOTIATION OF CONCESSIONS THERE IN CONTEXT OF PEACE AGREEMENT. THIS GESTURE OF NEGOTIATING FLEXIBILITY CAN BE ATTRIBUTED IN PART TO INFLUENCE OF MOSHE DAYAN, WHO CAN BE EXPECTED TO SHOW PRAGMATISM AS FOREIGN MINISTER.

(C) IN SHORT, INDICATIONS ABOUT STYLE AND CONTENT OF BEGIN'S FOREIGN POLICY ARE SUFFICIENTLY MIXED THAT IT WOULD BE PREMATURE AND UNWISE TO DRAW HARD AND FAST CONCLUSIONS. WE BELIEVE ALL CONCERNED SHOULD SUSPEND JUDGMENT AND CRITICAL PUBLIC COMMENTARY UNTIL THERE IS MORE DEFINITIVE PICTURE OF BEGIN'S TRUE NEGOTIATING POSITION AS PRIME MINISTER RATHER THAN AS LEADER OF OPPOSITION.

(D) BEGIN HAS BEEN INVITED TO COME TO WASHINGTON IN LATTER HALF OF JULY. WE WILL HAVE MUCH CLEARER PICTURE OF HIM AND ISRAELI POSTURE AFTER HE HAS MET PRESIDENT CARTER. WE WILL MAKE VERY CLEAR OUR INTENTION TO PROCEED ON COURSE SET OVER LAST SIX MONTHS AND ESSENTIALITY OF MAIN-

TAINING MOMENTUM TOWARD PEACE AS WELL AS GRAVE DANGERS  
INHERENT IN ANY OTHER COURSE.

(E) AFTER BEGIN VISIT, SECRETARY VANCE EXPECTS TO RETURN  
TO MIDDLE EAST TO REVIEW RESULTS OF NEW ADMINISTRATION'S  
CONSULTATIONS WITH KEY MIDDLE EAST LEADERS WITH VIEW TO  
REACHING OUR OWN JUDGMENT WHETHER BASIS EXISTS FOR RE-  
CONVENING GENEVA CONFERENCE. WE WILL SHARE OUR IMPRESSIONS

AND JUDGMENTS WITH SOVIETS AS THEY EVOLVE, IN SPIRIT OF  
THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED BETWEEN SECRETARY AND GROMYKO  
IN GENEVA. WE PRESUME SOVIETS WILL DO THE SAME. IT IS  
ALSO IMPORTANT FOR OUR LARGER RELATIONSHIP THAT OUR  
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SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AND NOT RECRIMINATION.

(F) MEANWHILE, THERE ARE TWO POINTS ON WHICH WE WOULD  
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AS SOVIETS KNOW, MAIN OBSTACLE TO RECONVENING GENEVA  
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AT GENEVA WHEN THAT ORGANIZATION CONTINUES TO REJECT  
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WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN ACCOUNT OF GROMYKO'S MEETING  
WITH FAHMY AND INDICATION OF WHETHER FURTHER HIGH-LEVEL  
EGYPTIAN-SOVIET MEETINGS ARE CONTEMPLATED. CHRISTOPHER

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PAGE 01 STATE 147102 TOSEC 070037  
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /016 R

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DRAFTED BY:NEA:HDCOLLUMS

APPROVED BY:NEA:HDCOLLUMS

S/S-O:SSTEINER

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O 241345Z JUN 77 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 147102 TOSEC 070037

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 147102 ACTION MOSCOW INFO AMMAN CAIRO  
DAMASCUS JIDDA TEL AVIV USUN JUNE 23.

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 147102

EXDIS FOR AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF, UR, US

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IMPORTANT. YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT WE VIEW CONSULTATIONS  
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UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
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**Errors:** N/A  
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**Review Release Event:** n/a  
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**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CONSULTATION WITH GROMYKO ON MIDDLE EAST  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PGOV, XF, UR, US, (GROMYKO, ANDREY ANDREYEVICH)  
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**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
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